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## AFTER ALL.

SUSAN COOLIDGE.

Grief is strong, but joy is stronger;  
Night is long, but day is longer.  
When life's riddle solves and clears,  
And the angels in our ears

Whisper the sweet answer low  
(Answer full of love and blessing),

How our wonderment will grow  
At the blindness of our guessing;  
All the hard things we recall  
Made so easy—after all!

Earth is sweet, but Heaven is sweeter;  
Love complete, but Faith completer.  
Close beside our wandering ways,  
Through dark nights and weary days,  
Stand the angels with bright eyes;

And the shadow of the cross  
Falls upon and sanctifies  
All our pain and all our loss.  
Though we stumble, though we fall,  
God is helping—after all!

Sigh then, soul, but sing in sighing  
To the happier things replying;  
Dry the tears that dim thy seeing,  
Give glad thoughts for life and being;  
Time is but the little entry  
To Eternity's large dwelling,  
And the heavenly guards keep sentry,  
Urging, guiding, half compelling,  
Till, the puzzling way quite past,  
Thou shalt enter in—at last!

INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY  
CONFERENCE.

LORD HERSCHELL ON PEACE AND WAR.

The International Parliamentary Conference of 1890 on International Arbitration was opened July 22d at the Whitehall Room, Hotel Métropole. Lord Herschell presided over the early part of the proceedings at the morning sitting, and among those present were Mr. Mundella, M. P., Mr. Shaw Lefevre, M. P., Sir L. Playfair, M. P., Lord Aberdeen, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M. P., Mr. Bradlaugh, M. P., the Hon. Philip Stanhope, M. P., Mr. Causton, M. P., Mr. Halley Stewart, M. P., Mr. Burt, M. P., Mr. James Bryce, M. P., Mr. Rowlands, M. P., Mr. Sydney Buxton, M. P., Captain Verney, M. P., Mr. J. T. Agg-Gardner, M. P., Mr. John Wilson, M. P., Mr. W. McLaren, M. P., the Marquis of Bristol, Sir George Campbell, M. P., Dr. Clark, M. P., Mr. A. Illingworth, M. P., Lord Kinnaird, M. F. Passy, Dr. Theodore Barth, M. Bajer, Don Arturo de Marcoartu, Herr Max Broemel, M. Jules Gaillard, Dr. Cremer, M. P. (Secretary), and many other members of English and foreign Legislatures.

The Chairman, who was cordially received, said he wished the Conference God-speed in its labors in the cause of peace. They were assembled as lovers of peace, who were desirous of seeing an amicable settlement of all international disputes, but there were not a few unfortunately who regarded war—evil though it was—as a necessity; and he rejoiced to find, therefore, that those present were amongst a number of people who were not content to remain supine, and to acquiesce in war as an evil, but inevitable necessity. (Hear, hear.) It was doubtless the sense of the misery that was entailed and of the devastation that came in its train which rendered them unwilling quietly to acquiesce. (Hear, hear.)

They were sensible of the ever-increasing burdens which were imposed upon the peoples of Europe by the preparations for war and the enormous military and naval armaments in existence. It was such considerations as those that had stirred advocates of peace to action, and had brought together on that occasion delegates from so many parts of Europe. It was deplorable in these days of so-called civilization that science should leave her legitimate function of relieving human wants in order that her energies might be more largely devoted to devising deadly weapons of destruction and more terrible engines of war. (Hear, hear.) The indefatigable efforts of science promised in the future, not only to render war more terrible, but even in times of peace enormously to increase the burdens incurred in the preparation for war, as well as to add to the expense when war broke out. He was at times tempted to the strange hope that the advances of science in that direction might be so tremendous that war would become an impossibility, as it would bring with it such terrible devastation that no nation would venture into conflict. Strange as that hope might appear, it seemed to him to be quite within the bounds of possibility that it would some day be realized. (Hear, hear.) The settlement of private disputes and differences was no longer left to the arbitrament of individual forces; such disputes and differences had become the concern of the community which, by means of its judges and legislative machinery, determined upon enforcing it. But when they turned to the question of international differences they found that civilization had made absolutely no progress whatsoever, and, for the most part, the old barbarous appeal to force as the arbiter of right remained as triumphant as ever it did. Thus, after so many centuries of Christendom, they found nations armed to the teeth, preparing for war, and speaking of war as imminent, to an extent that had perhaps never before been surpassed. (Hear, hear.) It was not surprising, then, that they should have banded themselves together with the view of promoting a more humane and rational settlement of international disputes than that which had hitherto prevailed. It was right, however, that they should cherish no illusions with regard to the ultimate results of their deliberations, for even if arbitration were agreed upon in principle it became necessary to find an arbiter upon whom both parties could rely to decide without fear or prejudice, and there was the further difficulty of obtaining the enforcement of the decrees. Notwithstanding those difficulties, however, they believed that the principle was a sound one, and the more men reflected upon the matter the more it would be found that those difficulties would disappear. In the present day more than in any other the decision of those questions rested with the peoples of the countries. (Hear, hear.) The more the barbarity of the ancient mode of settling disputes by brute force was exposed the more they would find the peoples of various countries insisting that some other and better means of settlement should be resorted to. If it were the case that there were some disputes which it would be hardly possible to settle by international arbitration—disputes, for instance, involving a nation's independence—that was no reason why they should not insist upon the application of the principle in other disputes. (Hear, hear.) If the principle were once established, the area of its application would gradually widen. Such reforms were always slow to achieve. The presence in the various Parliaments of men such as those before him would enor-

mously make for peace. They would counteract the influence of those who were eager for war, and, at any rate, see that time was allowed for reflection, which often produced the result they desired. (Cheers.)

The chair was taken by the Hon. Philip Stanhope. The Chairman read the report of the Convening and Organizing Committees appointed at the Paris Conference of 1889. The report gave a brief account of what had been done in the past, and stated that in addition to those who had accepted invitations to be present, about a thousand members of various legislatures had expressed their regret at being unable to attend, the majority adding their cordial adhesion to the object in view. The members attending the Conference had largely increased year by year, the present gathering being more than double the size of that of last year. It was deeply to be regretted that the extraordinary prolongation of the session at Washington had prevented the attendance of members of the United States Congress. Letters had, however, been received from Senator Sherman (Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate), and from Mr. Hitt (Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives). The former gentleman wrote that he was much pleased with the approval of the action of Congress on arbitration in International disputes. It seemed to him that the next step in the good cause would be some recognition by the English Parliament of a somewhat similar character. The feeling in favor of arbitration in all national disputes that did not involve the autonomy of a country, and especially questions involving merely matters of claim, or of disputed boundaries, or of commercial privileges, was that they should be, in every case which could not be settled by ordinary negotiation, submitted to arbitration organized upon some basis which would secure confidence in the judgment to be rendered. *See Letters on page 135.*

The report was adopted on the motion of Mr. Bradlaugh.

M. Passy then took the chair, and at a later stage he was succeeded by Dr. Theodore Barth.

The Conference proceeded to consider the following resolution:

"That as a means of relief from the terrible and constantly increasing burdens of militarism, the members of the Inter-Parliamentary Conference urge the conclusion of treaties of Arbitration by which, without interference with their independence or autonomy, the nations would engage to submit to Arbitration the settlement of all differences which might arise between them."

A long discussion took place, and it was eventually decided to postpone the voting on the resolution until to-day in order that certain alterations might be made to suit the objections of German representatives.

#### THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

The Earl of Aberdeen then moved the following resolution:

"That this Conference hails with satisfaction the passage of the concurrent resolution by both Houses of the United States Congress, which forms a fitting reply to the address from 234 members of the British House of Commons requesting the President to open up negotiations with other Powers for the purposes of concluding treaties of arbitration. It also congratulates the legislatures of the autonomous States of America whose representatives at the recent Pan-American Congress agreed upon a treaty providing for Arbitration in cases of dispute, which now awaits the ratification of the respective Governments."

He said that he looked with thankfulness at the present propaganda in favor of arbitration, as anything which brought forward the mischief of the present state of things in the enormous armaments of Europe was conducive to a further recognition of that principle. In this country there appeared to be a steady growth in favor of that principle, and he looked with hopefulness on the steady increase of that growth, all the more because of the unquestionable fact that the democracy of this country was becoming increasingly the guiding influence in the affairs of our nation. He looked upon the democratic principle as not inimical to patriotism, but unquestionably inimical to the militarism that had brought such grief and trouble to other countries besides our own.

Don Arturo de Marcoartu seconded the motion, which was carried.

It was then proposed—"That this Conference rejoices to learn that an effort is now being made to conclude a treaty of Arbitration between France and the United States. It views with pleasure the recent resolution in the Parliaments of Italy, Spain and Norway in favor of Arbitration, and expresses the hope that the Governments of other European countries will speedily follow this example." M. Passy, who supported the motion, expressed his earnest hope that, although the rumor was not yet officially confirmed, it was true that the treaty between France and the United States had really been entered into. The resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Conference adjourned.

#### SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

The International Parliamentary Conference of 1890 on Arbitration resumed and concluded July 23d at the Whitehall Rooms, Hotel Métropole. Mr. Pasquale Villari presided, and among those present were Lord Monkswell, the Bishop of Durham, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M. P., the Hon. Philip Stanhope, M. P., Sir George Campbell, M. P., Mr. G. C. Leveson Gower, M. P., Mr. Halley Stewart, M. P., Mr. Joshua Rowntree, M. P., Mr. James Rowlands, M. P., Mr. Briggs Priestley, M. P., Captain E. H. Verney, M. P., Mr. H. J. Wilson, M. P., Mr. Caleb Wright, M. P., Mr. H. Fell Pease, M. P., Mr. Walter M'Laren, M. P., Mr. Peter M'Donald, M. P., Mr. W. Mather, M. P., Mr. Charles Fenwick, M. P., Mr. Sydney Evershed, M. P., Mr. P. Esslemont, M. P., Mr. D. Crawford, M. P., Mr. C. A. V. Conybeare, M. P., Mr. H. P. Cobb, M. P., Dr. G. B. Clark, M. P., Mr. F. A. Channing, M. P., Mr. J. T. Agg-Gardner, M. P., M. F. Passy, Dr. Theodore Barth, M. Bajer, Vicomte T. de le Batut, le Chevr, Vlodimir Bolesta-Kozlowski, Mr. F. T. Borg, Herr Max Broemel, Dr. H. Dohrn, M. Jules Gaillard, M. Louis Gotteron, Don Arturo de Marcoartu, M. Montaut, M. Jules Siegfried, M. Van De Zyp, M. S. Van Houten, M. A. Farjon, Mr. O. P. Koht and Mr. W. R. Cremer, M. P. (Secretary).

It was announced that the Committee had remodelled the resolution that had been submitted to the Conference on the previous day, and that it now read as follows:

"That as a means of promoting peace and good will between nations, the members of the International Parliamentary Conference again urge the conclusion of treaties of Arbitration, by which, without interference with their independence or autonomy, the nations would engage to submit to arbitration the settlement of all differences which might arise between them; but that where the con-

clusion of treaties of Arbitration may for the present be found difficult of realization, the Conference strenuously urges the reference of disputes to arbitration or mediation."

FROM THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Bishop of Durham (better known as Canon Wescott), in moving the resolution, said he thought that in its present form it would command the approval of all present. (Hear, hear.) He owed his place in Parliament to the fact that he was a minister of the National Church. As Bishop of Durham, he could not look upon the two great buildings associated with his office—the Castle and the Cathedral—without realizing that for him at least ecclesiastical and civil duties were inseparably combined. He could not look back over the history of his See without knowing that to the best of his ability he must face the problems which arose from time to time affecting the well-being of man. He had a deep interest in the subject that had called the Conference together. (Hear, hear.) During his life he had noticed the gradual rising into prominence—nay, almost into supremacy—of the great idea of the solidarity of humanity; and from that idea had sprung that of the brotherhood of nations. (Cheers.) The cause of peace, some persons complained, was making slow progress, but for his part he was amazed at the advance which that great central idea had made even within his own experience. One nation no longer spoke and thought of another in the way that was common a century ago. (Hear, hear.) What they wanted was a peace that would enable a nation to develop its resources to the utmost without fear from without; and he was sure they would forgive him if he said that his deep interest in this holy subject rested upon his Christian faith. When St. Paul, eighteen centuries ago, used that memorable expression, writing to the Galatians, "We are all one man in Christ," he announced the principle which, during the centuries that followed, they were slowly endeavoring to interpret and embody.

Those who knew the history of Christendom were aware that this creed of the unity of mankind had been brought nearer to realization; and when he looked back upon what had occurred during even his own life, he noticed with gratitude the gradual and increasing rising into prominence—he might also say supremacy—of one great ideal, the ideal of the solidarity of humanity, and, arising out of that, the idea of the brotherhood of nations.

He confessed that he was absolutely amazed at the advance this great idea had made. He was glad that they were beginning to feel that there was indeed a brotherhood of nations, each having its peculiar service to render to humanity. When the ideal was firmly grasped, then he ventured to believe they would gain the cause of Peace. It would be of interest to some there to know that the church to which he had been allowed to dedicate his life instructed them day by day to pray—and it was, he believed a unique petition—that God would grant not to our nation, but to all nations, unity, peace and concord. Let them note the significance of those three words. They desired the brotherhood of man, and that each nation might endeavor to the utmost to develop its own resources without disturbance from without. They had hardly realized, he thought, that nations which stood foremost might feel that they had a common duty to render to those who were still far behind in the progress of civilization.

Herr Max Broemel seconded the resolution, and it was carried.

The Chairman moved the following resolution:

"Pending the conclusion of general treaties of arbitration, the conference advises the insertion of arbitration clauses in commercial and other treaties."

M. F. Passy seconded the resolution, remarking that it was extremely desirable that in commercial, copyright, and other treaties the arbitration clauses should be inserted. The resolution was carried.

Dr. Dohrn (a member of the German Reichstag) condemned the Chauvinistic and one-sided tone adopted by many of the German and French papers, and called upon the members of the Conference to do their utmost to influence the public in both countries in the interests of peace.

M. Trarieux (of the French Senate) quite agreed with the last speaker as to the usefulness of arbitration, but assured the German delegates that as long as Alsace and Lorraine remained as they were at present Frenchmen could not forget their pride and honor, and until that province was neutralized France must maintain her present attitude.

Dr. Dohrn regretted that the question of Alsace and Lorraine should have entered into the discussion, as he had endeavored to avoid mentioning anything which might wound the feelings of French representatives. For the German people Alsace was an historical fact, and in the course of the last twenty years the matter had gradually undergone a change, but they could never accept any other position than that of the *status quo*. It was a point of honor for the Germans as well as for Frenchmen, and the former intended to remain in the position they now held. ("Oh, oh," and cries of dissent.)

The Chairman thought that if they entered into political questions the Congress would no longer remain a Peace Congress. (Hear, hear.) They were not there to discuss politics, but to organize, if possible, a system by which countries could enter into friendly relations with each other without abandoning principle or position. Members of the Conference should not wound one another's feelings, but endeavor to arrive at a means of friendly relations between nations grounded on mutual respect.

A resolution was then adopted pledging the Conference to advance the cause of arbitration by every means, individual and public, in their power.

A long discussion ensued on the following resolution, which was finally agreed to: "That as closer relations between the members of various Parliaments would make for peace, the Conference recommends the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee for each country with a view to the interchange of ideas and the consideration of disputes as they may arise." The following words were in the resolution as it originally stood, but in consequence of the difference of feeling between the German and French representatives were abandoned: "Such committees to be prepared in case of emergency to convene a conference of members of the various Parliaments to discuss the matters in dispute with a view to their pacific adjustment."

It was decided that the next Conference should be held at Rome, and a committee was appointed to take the necessary steps to carry out the programme indicated by the resolutions. Adjourned.